

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T STATE 124572

NODIS

FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION TEHRAN INFO SECSTATE FROM USDEL
SECRETARY AIRCRAFT MAY 29:

QUOTE S E C R E T SECTO 05003

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, IR

SUBJECTT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH IRANIAN AMBASSADOR
ZAHEDI

1. AMBASSADOR ZAHEDI CALLED ON THE SECRETARY SATURDAY
MORNING, MAY 28, TO DISCUSS THE SHAH'S CONCERN ABOUT
IMPLICATIONS OF RECENTLY ANNOUNCED U.S. ARMS TRANSFER
POLICY DECISIONS FOR U.S.-IRANIAN MILITARY SUPPLY RELATION-
SHIP. ZAHEDI RECALLED THAT THE SHAH HAD INFORMED HIM OF HIS
PLEASURE WITH RESULTS OF HIS TALK WITH THE SECRETARY IN
TEHRAN. ZAHEDI ALSO NOTED THAT THE SHAH HAD WEIGHED IN WITH
SOME EFFECT WITH BHUYMO ABOUT THE NEED TO PATCH UP HIS
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RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THEN, ZAHEDI SAID, HE HAD RECEIVED
A LETTER THREE DAYS AGO FROM THE SHAH, WHICH HE SUMMARIZED
AS FOLLOWS.

2. THE SHAH HAD RECALLED HIS GOOD TALK WITH THE SECRETARY, WITH
WHICH HE THOUGHT BOTH HE AND THE SECRETARY WERE PLEASED. THE
SHAH HAD ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE SECRETARY HAD LEFT KNOWING AND
UNDERSTANDING THE SHAH'S NEEDS IN THE MILITARY FIELD FOR THE

SECURITY OF HIS COUNTRY. HE SUBSEQUENTLY HOWEVER, RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM THE DEPARTMENT ABOUT A NEW U.S. POLICY. UNDER THIS POLICY NATO., AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, JAPAN AND ISRAEL WOULD HAVE A PRIVILEGED POSITION AND RECEIVE WHAT THEY WANTED, WHEREAS IT APPEARED THAT IRAN WAS OF NO SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE U.S. THIS WAS DISAPPOINTING AND DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND, GIVEN IRAN'S MEMBERSHIP IN CENTO AND ITS BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S., DESPITE WHICH IT WAS NOT BEING ACCORDED THE POSITION OF AN ALLY. THE SHAH HAD THEN RECALLED INSTANCES OF HIS SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. IN THE PAST, INCLUDING AT THE TIME OF THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO IN 1973-74. IN LIGHT OF THE NEW U.S. POLICY, THE SHAH ASKED, WAS THIS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP?

IF THE U.S. DID NOT WANT A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, THIS MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET. HE HAD ALWAYS WANTED A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. BUT HAD AN OBLIGATION TO HIS PEOPLE FOR THEIR SECURITY AND COULD ALWAYS TURN TO EUROPE IF HE COULD NOT RECEIVE WHAT HE NEEDED FROM THE U.S.

3. ZAHEDI CONCLUDED THAT HE THOUGHT THERE WAS SOME MISUNDERSTANDING AND HAD THEREFORE ASKED TO SEE THE SECRETARY BEFORE REPLYING TO THE SHAH.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT ZAHEDI COULD ASSURE HIS MAJESTY THAT THERE IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN. OUR ARMS POLICY DECISIONS HAD REFERRED BY NAME TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES WITH WHOM WE HAVE A SPECIAL TREATY
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RELATIONSHIP. THE SECRETARY THEN CALLED ZAHEDI'S ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE IN THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S ARMS POLICY DECISION: QUOTE: THESE CONTROLS WILL BE BINDING UNLESS EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES NECESSITATE A PRESIDENTIAL EXCEPTION OR WHERE I DETERMINE THAT COUNTRIES FRIENDLY TO THE U.S. MUST DEPEND ON ADVANCED WEAPONRY TO OFFSET QUANTITATIVE AND OTHER DISADVANTAGES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A REGIONAL BALANCE UNQUOTE. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH IT HAD NOT BEEN SPECIFICALLY NAMED, IRAN FALLS UNDER THIS PROVISION. AS WE HAD TOLD HIS MAJESTY, WE WANT TO DISCUSS IRAN'S REQUEST AND THE ONLY PROBLEM IS ONE OF TIMING RELATED TO THE NEED FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT NOTHING HAS CHANGED SINCE HIS TALK WITH THE SHAH.

5. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE SULLIVAN ADDED THAT, DURING HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE LATTER HAD ASKED HIM TO CONVEY CERTAIN POINTS TO THE SHAH

WHICH HE WOULD BE DOING AFTER HIS ARRIVAL. BRIEFLY, THESE WERE THAT THE QUESTION OF ARMS TRANSFER HAS TWO DIMENSIONS. FIRST, THERE ARE TOO MANY WEAPONS IN THE WORLD AND THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO REDUCE THAT NUMBER. WE ARE BEGINNING WITH OURSELVES AND THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH THE U.S.-SOVIET ARMS LIMITATION TALKS AND HAVE ALSO PROPOSED DISCUSSING WITH THE SOVIETS HOW THE TWO OF US CAN REDUCE OUR ARMS SALES TO OTHERS. SECONDLY, WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ATTITUDE IN CONGRESS. OUR SALES TO IRAN THIS YEAR WILL BE LARGER THAN TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY AND ABOUT ON HALF OF THE TOTAL. THIS AFFECTS THE TIMING OF OUR APPROACHING CONGRESS ON ADDITIONAL SALES FOR IRAN, BUT THE PRESIDENT HAD MADE CLEAR THAT HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD IRAN AND ITS SECURITY NEEDS IS POSITIVE.

6. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT HE HAD TOLD THE PRESIDENT
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HOW PLEASED HE HAD BEEN ABOUT HIS MEETING WITH THE SHAH AND THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THE PRESIDENT AND THE SHAH WOULD SHARE MANY COMMON VIEWS. THE PRESIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO MEETING HIS MAJESTY WHOM HE REGARDS AS ONE OF THE WORLD'S OUTSTANDING STATESMEN AND WITH WHOM HE SEEKS DEEP, FREINDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS. VANCE
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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